

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 225337

NODIS
FOR LOW FROM MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: GRAHAM/LOW TRAVEL

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REF: PRETORIA 5184, DAR ES SALAAM 3769

1. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE REVELATIONS OF THE SMITH-
NKOMO SECRET MEETING AND THE FRONT LINE SUMMIT OVER THE
WEEKEND, WE HAVE BEEN REVIEWING HERE OUR POSSIBLE OPTIONS
FOR KEEPING THE NEGOTIATIONS GOING. AS YOU WILL HAVE
SEEN FROM JIM SPAIN'S REPORT (DAR 3769), NYERERE,
PRESUMABLY SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF THE FRONT LINE, APPEARS
TO HAVE RULED OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER DIRECT TALKS
BETWEEN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND SMITH ON THE GROUNDS THAT
SMITH IS UNPREPARED TO CEDE POLITICAL POWER. (OUR OWN

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READING OF THE SITUATION IS THAT SMITH PROBABLY IS
IN NO POSITION TO CONTINUE THE TALKS IN ANY EVENT GIVEN
MUZOREWA'S AND SITHOLE'S ACCUSATIONS OF DOUBLE DEALING
AND THE DOUBTS HIS ACTIONS PRESUMABLY HAVE RAISED AMONG
HIS RIGHT WING CONSTITUENTS IN THE RF.) MOREOVER,
NYERERE APPEARS TO BE SAYING, AGAIN ON BEHALF OF THE
FRONT LINE, THAT ALL-PARTY TALKS CANNOT BE HELD UNTIL WE

AND THE BRITISH HAVE GOTTEN SMITH TO MAKE CONCESSIONS
TOWARD ACCEPTING THE PROVISIONS OF THE AAP.

FULLY SHARED BY SOME OF HIS FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES, KAUNDA
PARTICULARLY, OR BY ,KOMO, WE NEVERTHELESS BELIEVE THE
COLLAPSE OF EFFORTS TO ARRANGE DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN THE
PF AND SMITH CONFRONTS US WITH A NEW SITUATION REQUIRING
A REVISION OF OUR STRATEGY. ONE OPTION IS TO HAVE YOU
AND JOHNNY ALTER THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF YOUR SHUTTLE
MISSION TO FOCUS LESS ON THE MECHANICS OF GETTING THE
PARTIES TO A MEETING AND MORE ON NARROWING THE SUBSTANTIVE
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SMITH AND THE PF. I HAVE DISCUSSED
THIS APPROACH WITH SECRETARY VANCE, WARREN CHRISTOPHER
AND DAVE NEWSOM, WHO AGREE THAT WE SHOULD PUT THIS
SUGGESTION TO THE BRITISH. WE HAVE THEREFORE SUGGESTED
TO THE BRITISH THAT TONY LAKE AND MYSELF GO TO LONDON,
PERHAPS AS EARLY AS FRIDAY DEPENDING UPON OWEN'S
AVAILABILITY. IN THE MEANTIME WE WILL BE PUTTING OUR
OWN THOUGHTS ON NEXT STEPS ON PAPER, WITH A VIEW TO
PROVIDING THESE TO THE BRITISH IN ADVANCE OF OUR MEETINGS
IN LONDON. -- --

3. THE BRITISH MEANWHILE HAVE ASKED FOR OUR COMMENTS ON
A PROPOSED CABLE TO THEIR HIGH COMMISSIONER IN DAR
INSTRUCTING
HIM TO SEEK A MEETING WITH NYERERE IN ORDER TO RESPOND
TO NYERERE'S COMMENTS ON WHAT TRANSPIRED AT THE FL
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SUMMIT AS REPORTED IN JIM SPAIN'S CABLE. IN ESSENCE,
THE BRITISH FEEL THE NEED TO DEFEND THEIR ROLE IN HELPING
TO ARRANGE THE AUGUST 14 SMITH-NKOMO MEETING AND WANT TO
URGE NYERERE NOT TO FORECLOSE THE POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER
DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN SMITH, NKOMO AND MUGABE. GIVEN
NYERERE'S EXTREMELY NEGATIVE VIEWS ON FURTHER CONTACTS
OF THIS KIND AND OUR ASSESSMENT THAT SUCH A MEETING NO
LONGER SEEMS POSSIBLE IN ANY EVENT, WE ARE COUNSELING
THE BRITISH AGAINST MAKING THEIR PROPOSED APPROACH TO
NYERERE UNTIL AFTER WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO CONSULT
WITH THEM ON HOW WE SHOULD PROCEED WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. PER YOUR SUGGESTION, WE HAVE ALSO GONE BACK TO THE
BRITISH TO SUGGEST THAT THEY BE SOMEWHAT LESS DISCOURAGING
IN THEIR RESPONSE TO THE APPROACH FROM THE JOC. THIS
IS ANOTHER SUBJECT WE WILL WANT TO DISCUSS IN GREATER
DETAIL WITH THE BRITISH IN LONDON.

5. IF OWEN CONCURS IN OUR SUGGESTION FOR A MEETING, I
THINK IT IMPORTANT THAT BOTH YOU AND JOHNNY ALSO BE
PRESENT. ASSUMING THAT FRIDAY IS ACCEPTABLE TO OWEN,
THIS WOULD MEAN THAT YOU AND JOHNNY WOULD HAVE TO CHANGE

YOUR PLANS TO TRAVEL TO MAPUTO, LUSAKA AND POSSIBLY DAR

AT THE END OF THE WEEK. MY OWN VIEW IS THAT IT IS MORE IMPORTANT AT THIS STAGE FOR US TO COMPARE NOTES WITH THE BRITISH THAN FOR YOU AND JOHNNY TO TOUCH BASE WITH THE FRONT LINE. AS YOU WILL ALREADY HAVE SEEN, WE HAVE GOTTEN SOME INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE FRONT LINE SUMMIT IN LUSAKA FROM JIM SPAIN AND JOHN CLINGERMAN, AND I DOUBT THAT THE FL WILL HAVE MUCH MORE TO TELL US UNTIL AFTER THE FOLLOW-UP MEETING THAT ACCORDING TO NKOMO AND KAUNDA IS SUPPOSED TO TAKE PLACE THIS WEEKEND.

6. WE ARE AWAITING CONFIRMATION FROM THE BRITISH ON THE TIMING OF A JOINT MEETING IN LONDON, WHICH WE WILL PASS
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ON TO YOU AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IN THE MEANTIME, YOU MAY WANT TO MAKE CONTINGENCY BOOKINGS ON A FLIGHT THAT WOULD GET YOU TO LONDON IN TIME FOR A POSSIBLE FRIDAY MEETING WITH OWEN. CHRISTOPHER

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